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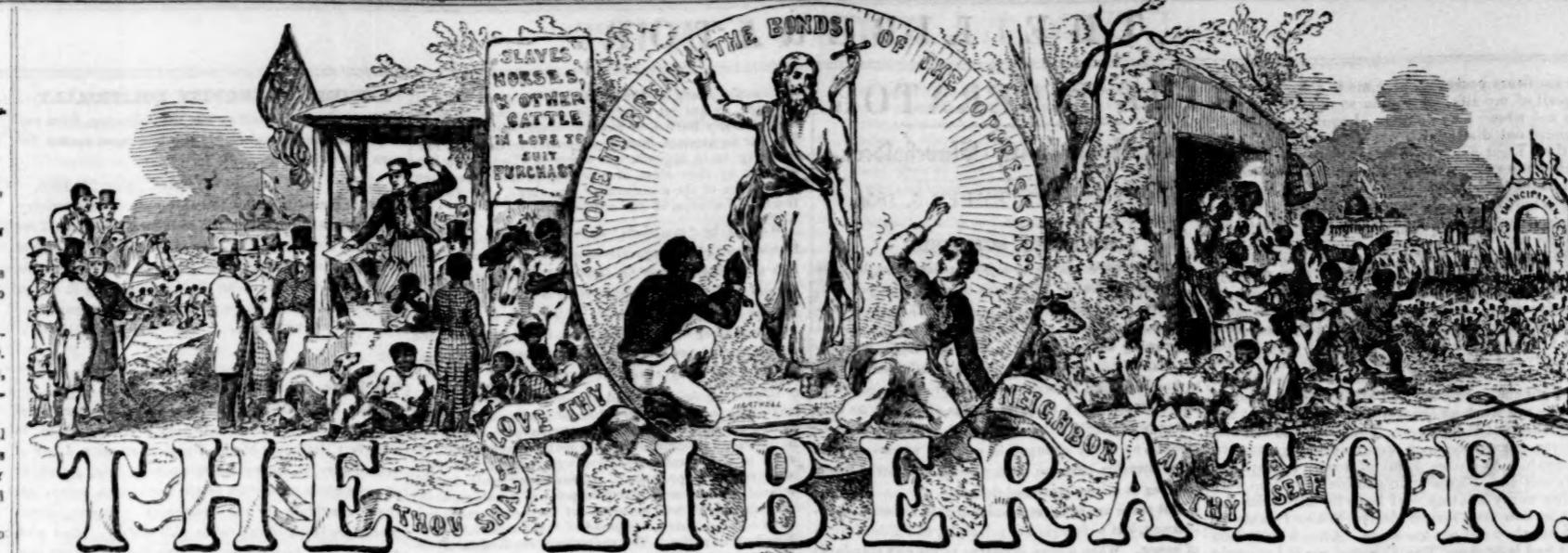
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17 In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

'**E**'S ! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exactation, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons In fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; and THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—John Quincy Adams.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1156.

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Presbyterian Witness.

LETTER FROM DR. ROSS.

HUNTSVILLE, Ala., July 14, 1856.

BROTHER BLACKBURN—I affirmed, in my New York speech, that the slavery agitation has done well and will do good.

Very kind and courteous disagreement on that point will make the occasion to say something more thereon, without wishing you, my dear friend, to regard what I write as inviting any discussion.

Told that agitation has brought out, and would still more fully, the Bible, in its relation to truth and liberty—also, the infidelity which long has been, and is now, leavening with death the Northern mind, and that it would result in triumph of the true Southern interpretation of the Bible, to the honor of God, and to the good of master, the slave, the stability of the Union, as it is a blessing to the world. To accomplish this, the sin per se doctrine will be utterly demolished. That doctrine is the difficulty, in every Northern soul, (where there is any difficulty about it,) whether they confess it or not. Yes, the difficulty with every Northern man is, that the relation of master and slave is felt to be sin. I know not to be the fact. I have talked with all grades of Northern men, and come in contact with all the men of Northern mind on this subject. And I find that the man who says, and tries to believe, that slavery is not sin, yet in his feelings—is in his education—ye hypocrites!—ye say if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in the blood of the slave-trade? Wherefore, ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them who, in fact, kidnapped, and bought in blood, and sold the slave in America! For now, ye hypocrites—ye buy the blood-stained cotton in quantity so immense, that ye have run up the price of slaves to be more than a thousand dollars, the average of old and young! O ! ye hypocrites—ye denounce slavery, then ye bid it live, and not die, in that ye buy sugar, rice, tobacco, and above all, cotton! Ye hypocrites—ye abuse the devil, and then fall down and worship him! Ye hypocrites—ye say if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in the blood of the slave-trade? Wherefore, ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them who, in fact, kidnapped, and bought in blood, and sold the slave in America! For now, ye hypocrites—ye buy the blood-stained cotton in quantity so immense, that ye have run up the price of slaves to be more than a thousand dollars, the average of old and young! O ! ye hypocrites—ye denounce slavery, then ye bid it live, and not die, in that ye buy sugar, rice, tobacco, and above all, cotton! Ye hypocrites—ye abuse the devil, and then fall down and worship him! Ye hypocrites—ye New England hypocrites—ye Old England hypocrites—ye French hypocrites—ye Uncle Tom's Cabin hypocrites—ye Beecher hypocrites—ye Rhode Island Consecration hypocrites! O ! your holy twaddle stinks in the nostrils of God, and He commands me to lash you with my scour, and His scour, so long as ye gibble about the sin of slavery, and then bow down to me, and buy, and spin cotton—and thus work for me, as truly as my slaves. O ! ye fools and blind—fill ye up the measure of your folly, and blindness, and shame. And this ye are doing. Ye have, like the French infidels, made reason your goddess, and are exiling her above the Bible. And in your unitarianism and neology and all modes of infidelity, ye are rejecting and crucifying the Son of God.

Now, my brother, this controlling Slave Power is a world wide fact. Its statistics of bales count by millions. Its tonnage counts by hundreds of thousands. Its manufacture is reckoned by the workshops of America and Europe. Its supporters are numbered by all who must thus be clothed in the world. This tremendous power has been developed in great measure by the abolition agitation, controlled by God. I believe, then, as I have already said, that God intended all things. He either intended to bless the United States by this Slave Power—or he intends to bless this world by the unfolding of his wisdom in this matter. I believe he will bless the world in the working out of this slavery. I rejoice, then, in the agitation which has so resulted, and will so terminate, to reveal the Bible, and bless mankind.

Your affectionate friend,

SELECTIONS.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE RIGHT STAMP.

The following series of Resolutions was adopted at the Hopedale celebration of the First of August—

1. Resolved, That in celebrating the 22d Anniversary of British West India Emancipation, by which glorious event 800,000 down-trodden slaves were restored to their natural rights as human beings, we are impressively reminded that our own nation holds in chains four times that number of equally down-trodden slaves, with a grasp of unrelenting tyranny in the name of Republican Liberty.

2. Resolved, That the justly-deserved honor which we confer to a nation of monarchists for their noble act of emancipation, rebounds upon us with an echo of interloping jealousy and malice against our own nation of nominal republicans, whose extravagant praise of liberty is used as a cloak to cover the most monstrous, deliberate and systematic oppression ever perpetrated under the sun.

3. Resolved, That the worst condition to which one people can reduce another is perpetual chattel slavery; that instant and outrageous slaughter is preferable to the complicated evils of such slavery; and therefore that American slaveholding, being persistent man-stealing, is a greater crime against humanity and the divine moral law, than wholesale murder.

4. Resolved, That the weakness, ignorance and helplessness of the enslaved only aggravate the malignity and meanness of the offence committed against them, by a people claiming to be in all respects their superiors.

5. Resolved, That slaveholders who deliberately justify their determination to perpetuate their peculiar institution at all hazards, are no fit to be recognized as voters and office-holders under civil government, than man-stealing pirates engaged in the slave trade on the coast of Africa, or than the worst bandits, robbers and murderers incarcerated in our State Prisons.

6. Resolved, That to regard and treat these self-justifying slaveholders as fellow-citizens, entitled to vote and hold office in civil society, is to regard and treat the most monstrous of all crimes either as no crime, or as a venial offence, which ought to be overlooked—and that this concedes to them the whole ground in dispute, enabling them to hold up their impudent heads in high places as honorable men, ready, with imperious speech, bludgeon or Bowie-knife, to strike down wherever contradiction threatens.

7. Resolved, That the existing Federal Union is a compact which regards and treats slaveholding as no crime, as excusable, as rightful in its place, as no disqualification for citizenship or official station, but as, in fact, an element of political consideration, power, honor, protection and conservation—all of which is utterly intend to the Declaration of Independence, to natural justice, to eternal truth, to self-evident benevolence, to liberty, and to the true welfare of the nation,—and therefore, that such a Union should be held in abomination by all upright minds.

8. Resolved, That as much as slaveholders in Church and State is the original sin of our country; that it has clutched with resistability and power a mere handful of oligarchs; that it has flattered and pampered them in their haughty assumptions; that it has robed them in the vestments of aristocratic usurpation over non-slaveholders; that it has gradually trained them to all the outrages recently perpetrated in Kansas; that it has infatuated their chivalrous boldness in Congress, P. S. Brooks, to smite down and all but murder the noble Summer for his fidelity to truth; that it has depraved the whole body politic of the nation beyond description; that no political party, with whatever possible purity or success, can now prevent the storm of intestine violence which has been so long brewing; and that the only hope of far-seeing minds for the liberties and solid glory of our country is, that in the divine order of retribution, the disease will exhaust itself, in a general collapse of the existing government.

9. Resolved, That to look on consenting, when six o'clock, in company with a gentleman and lady from Philadelphia. He had not before seen Mr. Summer since the Brooks challenge, and we all sat together until after eleven o'clock; there was so much to tell, and said, and explained. Without any personal resemblance, these two appeared together like father and son; but I could give no idea of their interview, even as much of it as the sacredness of private conversation would permit to be made public, in less than a column, and Mr. Summer crowds everything from my thoughts just now. When his friends left, he had no disposition to retire, and when he did, slept but one hour. Next morning, his pulse was very rapid, but he took his usual morning ride, in company with Mr. Burlingame, the doctor, and the ladies of the party who wished to go. They returned in a great flow of spirits, and after dinner, the Senator from Massachusetts was formally expelled from the library, by a vote of the house. He retired, but did not sleep. By a strong effort, I denied myself the gratification of spending the Sabbath with him, and came home in the night train, feeling very sadly. I tried to induce him to come down to Swissville, where the air is scarcely less pure, and the scenery finer than on the mountains, and where he would be as nearly out of the world as he could well be, while near a railroad and a telegraph; but he thinks he must go in the other direction—the direction of his duties, to Washington, to settle his affairs there, and then to the stump, to labor in the campaign. For the issue, the fearful issue! Freedom has no advocate to spare. He is resting now, and will soon be strongly—everlasting—illness, refraining from intellectual labor, and recruiting so fast! He only reads and writes about ten letters a day, laying his head every few moments, while absorbed at the desk, on the top of his head, creeping, with his unsteady gait, his hand upon a table or back of a chair, on the small of his own back, to lie down upon the sofa; and when he feels rested, back to his desk again. But he is very ill, and he was charged with voluntary immorality. Sarah behaved herself with such modest and womanly propriety, her case was so affecting, the slave of her own father, sold by him to go South, bought by a slave-trader through sympathy, who offered to sell her to herself for a hundred dollars less than he paid for her, her little daughter of four years old kept from her by her own master, the spontaneous uprising of those white strangers, and their eager charity to put into her hands that golden key which should unlock the door of her prison—all these things constituted one of the strongest cases that could arise.

10. Resolved, That when Garrisonian abolitionists are taunted as do-nothings, because they cannot vote and hold office by the side of slaveholders as honorable fellow-citizens, they have a right to plead that they are doing just the thing which must be done to abolish slavery, viz., tearing off its cloak and treating it as an outlaw.

11. Resolved, That those who are now putting down slavery with rifles, revolvers, and other deadly weapons, because it tramples on the rights of white men, not to pride themselves over Northern abolitionists, who, during long years of undignified and odious attempt, have demanded slavery for its inherent hostility to the welfare of both black and white—since if our disinterested warnings had been heeded in season, the dreadful evils now inevitable might have been peaceably averted.

12. Resolved, That on the whole, slavery is a greater curse to slaveholders than to their slaves; that pure and enlightened minds will not give way to hatred and revenge towards these gigantic criminals—will neither attempt nor desire to injure them; but with a conscientious, uncompromising, self-sacrificing devotion to true righteousness and the highest good of all parties, will endure unto the end, faithful martyrs to the progress of the human race.

13. Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, our mission is to war against slavery per se, as a monstrous falsehood in principle, and a gigantic crime in fact; that therefore we cannot join the delusion of 'Slavery, sectional, Liberty national,' nor strive to stifle the popular enthusiasm of to-day which merges the whole question, with which we have to do, in the simple demand for protection for the white man in Kansas, or on the floor of Congress, nor spend our time and energies in urging any other merely incidental issue, which ambitious self-seekers, compromising politicians, or short-sighted philanthropists, from time to time may raise, deceiving thereby even some of the anti-slavery elect; but that, relying upon the eternal right and wrong, and the God of righteousness and truth, we will, now and for ever, as good soldiers in the warfare, strive earnestly against the falsehood and the crime, wherever acknowledged and wherever existing, building up in our hearts and lives, and among our fellow-men, the nobler and diviner sentiment—Slavery no where, but Liberty every where, throughout our nation and throughout the world.

monopoly. A monopoly so great, that he, the Southern planter, sits now upon his throne of cotton, and wields the commercial sceptre of the world. Yes, it is the Southern planter who says to-day, to haughty England, Go to war, if you dare! Dismiss Dallas, if you dare! Yes, he who sits on the throne of the cotton bag has triumphed at last over him who sits on the throne of the wool-sack. England is prostrate at his feet, as well as the abolitionists.

7. God has put it into the hearts of abolitionists to prevent half a million of free negroes from going to Liberia; and thereby the abolitionists have made them consumers of slave products to the extension of the Slave Power. And by thus keeping them in America, the abolitionists have so increased their degradation, as to prove all the more the utter folly of emancipation in the United States.

8. God has permitted the anti-slavery men in the North, in England, in France, and everywhere, so to blind themselves in hypocrisy, as to give the Southern slaveholder his last perfect hold over them. For God tells the planters to say to the North, to England, to France, all who buy cotton—Ye men of Boston, New York, London, Paris—Ye hypocrites—ye brand me as a pirate, a kidnapper, or he demon, fit only for hell—and yet, ye buy my blood-stained cotton. O ! ye hypocrites! Ye Boston hypocrites—why don't ye throw the cotton in the sea? your fathers did so. Ye Boston hypocrites—ye say if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in the blood of the slave-trade?

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14. God has, by this growth of the Northwest, and the demand for cotton enormous in the North and South. Again: He has made English and French experiments, to procure cotton somewhere else, than from the United States, dead failures. Is this given to the Southern planter an absolute

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

MRI. SUMNER'S HEALTH.

SWISSVILLE, Saturday, Aug. 23, 1856.

With many thousands of Mr. Sumner's friends in Western Pennsylvania, I have long resisted the spirit which impels us all to his aid, to sympathize and offer trifling relief; but it has been almost beyond human endurance to read the reports that are constantly circulated about him. His friends have been informing us that a 'gentleman of our acquaintance' has visited Mr. Sumner, and found him so and so. Then, a celebrated physician of Philadelphia, has said so and so. Next, a well-known clergyman of some where has been with him, and thinks thus and so. One time he has been convalescent, and will be about in a couple of weeks; and next, there is great danger of his intellect being forever extinguished. All this sound mysterious, and the enemies of the freedom of Congressional debate have taken advantage of this mystery to spread the impression that there was some juggling about it—that he was made to appear ill for political effect. A brutal attack upon him in the Hollidayburg Standard revealed the fact that he was receiving visitors who were far from being friends, and I resolved to go at once and see what it all meant.

I found him in the private residence of Dr. Jackson, whom, with his amiable wife, I have for some years claimed as a personal friend; and I remained with them two days, to find out the secret of the conflicting accounts of his health. The Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia is staying with him; he has been his companion a greater part of the time since his left Washington. He consulted Dr. Wistar, of Philadelphia, who gave it as his opinion that there was serious danger of a chronic congestion of the brain, and recommended Cape May. He went there, and returned to Philadelphia nothing better, when Dr. Wistar insisted on Alleghany Mountain air; and wishing to avoid the publicity of a hotel, he took lodgings at Dr. Jackson's private residence. The Doctor is a Democrat and most accomplished surgeon, and says he thinks the back part of the top of his head; and this red wound must have been inflicted while his head lay with the face downward. It must have required a very forcible blow to open the scalp through the masses of coarse, long hair with which his head is covered; 'tis that has laid him low, and wise as he is, speaks so eloquently. One does not easily consent to see it so, that it should be beaten with a bludgeon; but it was one who had done no violence, and in whose mouth there was no deceit, who was 'stricken, smitten for the iniquities of us all.' and if the Son of God was not too precious to be delivered up, to the utmost indignities and violence from brutal men, that degenerate nations might be brought to see the beauty of holiness and the hideousness of sin. Charles Sumner is not too costly a sacrifice to bring this nation to a sense of the value of their Liberties, and the hideousness of the monster iniquity she has so long nurtured in her life-blood.

Those mistaken friends of his who would fain see Brooks killed or maimed, would greatly distress him if any such killing or maiming were done by their agency. He shudders at the thought that Burlingame might have shot him; and appears to feel about as much resentment against him as I should feel toward a tile that had fallen upon my head. I could not discern the slightest symptom of chagrin or mortification—no sense of the dishonor which so many attach to the blow unavenged. I asked him if he would have defended himself, if it had been possible.

Most certainly, was the prompt reply, 'to the best of my ability, and the last extremity.'

To Dr. Jackson's suggestion that the same principle which permitted him to defend himself when attacked should induce him to punish the offense, he promptly explained the difference between self-defence and revenge. He appears to have no idea, however remote, of personal enmity in the matter; but, if he was only able to deliver one more speech! His brain is throbbing with pent thunderbolts; and if he could only get into the citadel of his foes, and hurl them hissing in

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ANOTHER SOMERSET.

Bailey, if we remember rightly, as soon as he could be heard, intimated that the gentleman they stigmatized was known to him to be a pretty large freeholder and slaveholder in the neighborhood, and therefore entitled to be listened to with politeness, even upon this exciting question, in which his interests were identical with their own. It was finally moved that slavery, in its relations to wealth and progress, should be considered at the next meeting. The ensuing week was devoted by the emigrant citizen to the arduous study of statistics connected with the subject, and one or two others, willing that it should be fairly considered, prepared themselves for its discussion. Meetings of the club were generally attended by from fifty to one hundred persons. At the one in which the material interests of South Carolina, as affected by the peculiar institution, were to be examined, there were present Mr. Bailey, before mentioned, Mr. Mitchell King, Rev. Dr. Gilmore, Mr. S. G. Goodrich, recently Consul at Paris, who happened at the time to be staying at the Charleston Hotel, and the gentleman who had so undesignedly startled the members of the club from their property the previous week. The most generously cultivated and dignified circle south of Mason and Dixon's line thus confessed that they dared not look the slavery question in the face, even from the most strictly commercial and utilitarian point of view. They dared not attempt to "justify" the institution "on themselves." There cannot be found in all the slave States a *coterie* of a dozen men who have the courage to sit down in a room, with doors and windows barred and double-locked, and any other guard of secrecy they can invent, to read and recite the arguments of a Northern writer against slavery. That which they are afraid to do themselves, they are afraid to have their neighbors do, and it is, therefore, made punishable with imprisonment or extraction, if not death, for any man to write, print or publish anything whatever in opposition to the views they wish to have prevail.

In the history of civilized communities, nothing can be pointed out more surely indicating pusillanimity and a sense of periling and overwhelming guilt, than these attempts of the South to shut their own eyes and ears to all that may be written or said by the outside world of their condition. They perceive they have reached in this direction

'The last infirmity of evil.'

From the Western Christian Advocate.

THE TRAGEDY AT ROCHESTER, MO.

LETTER FROM THE REV. WM. SELLERS.

We have at length obtained a full and reliable account of the late difficulties in Rochester, Mo., which resulted in the tarring of the Rev. William Sellers, and the shooting of Benjamin Holland, an aged and beloved member of our Church. The account has been delayed till this time by the severe sickness of Bro. Sellers, the consequence mainly of his inhuman treatment.

BRO. CONKLIN: At your solicitation, I herein transmit to you, for the benefit of your readers, a plain statement of facts connected with the recent mob in Rochester, as they came under my own observation.

I had appointed Saturday, June 14, to commence a series of meetings in Rochester, and had written to several ministers to come and assist me. On Wednesday or Thursday previous, a Pro-Slavery man by the name of Sims was shot by a Free Soil man (one Hardesty) because Sims attempted to drive him from his home or kill him. I arrived in Rochester on Thursday, about 12 o'clock. Soon after my arrival, I was waited upon in Bro. Strick's store, by a committee of three individuals, who said they were authorized by the citizens of Rochester and vicinity, to inform me not to preach again in Rochester, and endeavored by threatening to exact a promise from me to that effect; declaring at the same time that this North Methodist preaching would not be tolerated longer in the county. I asked them for a few names of the citizens who had given them this authority: they had no names to give. I have better friends in Rochester. I then asked them if they claimed to be American citizens. They said I was a fool, and had better promise not to preach again in Rochester. I told them I would not make that promise; that I was guilty of no crime, had violated no law, and would obey God rather than men. I asked them what right or privileges they claimed as American citizens by virtue of their citizenship, that were superior to other American citizens. At this remark, without giving me an answer, they left the store, muttering that force would be used in order to stop me.

I had some pastoral visiting to do in the country, and, after attending to that important duty, on Saturday morning I started for Rochester, for the purpose of holding my meeting at the time appointed. As we rode into town, we observed groups of men gathered at the corners of the streets, engaged in conversation. The excitement appeared to be general. I rode through the village to Bro. Strick's stable to put up my horse, and Bro. Holland, who was with company with me, went immediately into Bro. Strick's store. I came into the store in ten or fifteen minutes, and found several of my Rochester friends and some from the country, who had come to attend the meeting. Old Bro. Holland (a saintly martyr now) was standing near the front door. One of the leaders, with several others of the mob, were standing near Bro. Holland himself, having in their hands a copy of the report of the majority of the Committee on Slavery in the General Conference. I told them how far the matter was adjusted, still, and I must pray, not to preach, or else be mobbed. I said I would not do it. About this time the mob began to collect in front of the door. I suppose there were from seventy-five to one hundred of them, some from Platte County, some from Buchanan, some from Savannah, and others from the vicinity of Rochester. Some were armed with revolvers, others had knives and clubs, while others had picked up stones in the street. One fellow cried out, "If he had me out of the store, he would soon kill me." At that remark, one fellow got me by the arm, and drew me to the door. Three others then came to his assistance, and seizing hold of each arm and leg, they carried me to the middle of the street, where they halted—raving, cursing, and yelling like a body of savages who had rescued a prisoner.

While this was transpiring, Bro. Holland was shot, the ball striking him on the chin, passing through and breaking his neck. He expired in about thirty minutes. I afterward understood that Bro. Strick was shot also, the ball cutting all his clothing and grazing the skin on his side. They also shot at Bro. Beattie, and missed him; and he then knocked two or three of them down, and escaped at the back door. These noble brethren stood with me in the battle till they were driven from their posts.

In the same paper, for August 2, we find another editorial, commenting upon the folly of Mr. Toombs's threat of dissolving the Union, in case of the election of Fremont:—

"The election of Fremont, as Toombs and his fellows are perfectly aware, will impair not one right, nor deny a single just claim of the South: will rob them of no slave territory; will leave the institution intact; will simply disunite the combatants on both sides of the slavery question, and give peace to the country. It will restore the concentrated division between free and slave labor; and that will be the limit of its interference with slavery, either in its social or political aspect. Knowing these things, were Mr. Toombs, or the other misleaders of the South, to go to the people, and state the case fairly, and as their calm judgment of the alternative, we can doubt what that judgment would be! Can we doubt what it will be, notwithstanding the efforts of these political incendiaries to misstate the issue, excite unjust impressions of the Northern movement, and speculate upon the deficient sources of information among the Southern masses? Mr. Toombs knows as well as we do, that if the people of the North and of the South could once get rid of the intermission of turbulent and inflammatory demagogues, and by direct conference learn to understand each other fairly and frankly on this vexed question of slavery, agitation of the subject would cease forever; and that so far from resisting the inauguration of Fremont, the South would join cordially in his election."

This agrees, perfectly, with the 'Southern platform' of Mr. F. P. Blair, President of the Pittsburgh Convention, and received with applause by that body. It would be the 'security of the institution'—the finale of all existing institutions.'

"Is this 'making liberty national, and slavery sectional?' Is this 'relieving the Federal Government from all responsibility in respect to slavery?' What Government is responsible for slavery in the Federal District, under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, if this is not? By what other authority does slavery exist there?"

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BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 5, 1856.

ANOTHER SOMERSET.

their revolvers cocked, telling me to step faster, at the peril of my life. I was in so much misery, I knew not where I was going. I could see objects, but could not distinguish one from another. By the time I got across the street, between Brother Strock's store and stable, the tar had melted some, and I could distinguish between males and females. Here were the female members of my flock in Rochester, over whom I felt the 'Holy Ghost had made me an overseer,' some of whom had ventured out in the midst of this mob to rescue their pastor from their bloody clutches. Some had fainted, others were crying and wringing their hands in excessive grief. I thought of the patriotic women of the Revolution, and that their daughters still lived to lend a helping hand in behalf of suffering humanity. I found my horse in the yard with the bridle on, and with the assistance of one of the mob I got the saddle on, and started to go to some place on my work as quickly as possible to get the tar washed out of my eyes. The mob followed me, however, turned me back, and made me go toward Savannah. As I passed out of town, I providentially met Bro. Chamberlin and his wife, who were coming to my meeting. (I hope he will write and tell you how they served him.) When I told them what had happened, Bro. Chamberlin said, "I think I can stand it to go to his father-in-law's, a distance of twelve miles. I told him I thought I could not endure such a trip, but was willing to try it. We rode as fast as we could, not knowing whether the mob was in pursuit of us. When we turned off from the main Savannah road to go to Bro. Miller's, they were not more than fifteen minutes behind us. After riding so far in the hot sun, in my condition, I was nearly dead when we arrived, but through the attention of Bro. Chamberlin and my kind friends at Bro. Miller's, in a few days I partially recovered from the injuries received. May they receive a thousand fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting!"

These are changes which indicate not only inconsistency, but a disregard of principle, and a destination of honor. When a man is untrue to his own standard, when he blows hot and cold with the same breath; when he suddenly leaves the few, whom he acknowledges to be uncompromising for the right, and joins the many, whom he admits to temporizers; when, without any time for deliberation, any change in the issue before the people, any alteration in the circumstances by which he is surrounded, he eats up his own words, ignores his solemnly recorded convictions, and steps down to a compromising policy, instead of ascending in the scale of rectitude, there can be no doubt that he is a selfish adventurer, a mere trickster in morals, whose object is his own advancement, and on whom no reliance can be placed, except that he will prove treacherous to every party that fails to gratify his acquisitiveness or ambition.

We are presented with a case in point, but not for the first time in the same person.

In his paper of the 15th ultmo, FREDERICK DOUGLASS summarily withdraws from the head of his leading column—the honored names [of Gerrit Smith and Samuel McFarland] as his candidates for President and Vice President; and 'although,' he says, with a ludicrous affectation of tenderness regard for the feelings of the discarded, 'no other names have been, or shall be, [why not?] placed at the head of our columns, we deem it proper frankly to announce our purpose to support, with whatever influence we possess, little or much, JOHN C. FREMONT and WILLIAM L. DAYTON, the candidates of the Republican Party for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States.'

Of course—having so long and so profusely burnt incense and paid idolatrous homage at the shrine of GERRIT SMITH—Mr. Douglass feels obliged to give his reasons for this sudden abandonment of an old, tried, and manifest friend of the slave, and adhesion to one who was selected because he had no taint of abolitionism about him, to the exclusion of such men as Seward, Giddings, Sumner, Chase and Hale. These reasons are the old ploy of availability, and that 'the South has tendered to us the issue of slavery extension'—as if this very issue has not been tendered ever since the purchase of Louisiana! With the coolest effrontery he says, 'The difference between our paper this week and last week is a difference of Policy, not of Principle!' He further says that he shall 'hereafter, as hitherto, contend for every principle, and maintain every doctrine, laid down in the platform of the Radical Abolitionists,'—while, at the same time, he is giving his sanction and support to a party which repudiates the principles and doctrines to which he refers, and avows its object to be simply territorial on the subject of slavery! This determination to be on good terms with both parties has an air of shrewdness as well as of cunctiousness about it; but we suspect Mr. Douglass will find it as difficult to sit on two stools at the same time as many a trimmer before him has done.

To shield himself from the charge of pursuing a whiffing course, he says—"The time has passed for an honest man to attempt any defense of a right to change his opinion as to political methods of opposing slavery." But what if the man be not honest? What if he be one who has again and again lifted his heel against true and faithful friends as ever yet aided one out of obscurity to popular conspicuity? What if it be a palpable sacrifice of principle, instead of a change as to 'political methods'?

Referring to the Kansas question, he says—"The fact that slaveholders have taken their united stand in favor of this measure is, at least, an argument why anti-slavery men should take a stand to defend them." As if those who are laying the axe to the root of the tree are not looking after the branches thereof! As if a blow struck for the abolition of slavery where it now exists, is not the most effective blow that can be struck for freedom in any territorial possession! As if the slaveholders are not as united in resisting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and therefore it would be wise for anti-slavery men to resolve themselves into a party, having nothing else in view than one or the other of these measures! As if whatever of anti-slavery zeal or sentiment that is found in the Republican party is not the product of radical, unbending, incorruptible abolitionism! As if that party were anti-slavery, or claimed to be, in any proper meaning of that term! As if, with a platform low enough to enable James Gordon Bennett, with his New York Herald, to stand upon it without change of spirit or purpose it is a party in which to merge 'RADICAL' abolitionism!

"But," says Mr. Douglass, "the conclusive (?) answer to all who object upon this ground is the indisputable truth, that neither in religion nor morals can a man be justified in refusing to assist his fellow-men to accomplish a possible good thing, simply because his fellows refuse to accomplish some other good thing which they deem impossible. Most assuredly, that theory cannot be a sound one, which will prevent us from voting with men for the abolition of slavery in Maryland, simply because our companions refuse to include Virginia." Observe the disingenuousness of this plea! "Simply because," &c. N. S. to: the question is, can a 'radical abolitionist' consistently or properly endorse a party, which, while seeking to save a territory from the clutch of the Slave Power, goes for sustaining slavery in fifteen States of the Union, according to the universally acknowledged compromises of the Constitution? We shall let Mr. Douglass answer this question directly, by quotations from recent articles from his pen.

Till within a fortnight, the doctrine of the utter unconstitutionality of slavery in every part of the country has been enforced by Mr. D. as of the highest importance, and as all efficient and comprehensive respecting that foul system, whether in the States or Territories. It has been made the shibboleth of the 'Radical Abolition party.' Now it is coolly put aside by Mr. D. in the following manner:—"This new doctrine, we think, may very properly be left to take its turn in the arena of discussion. Time and argument will do more for its progress, and its final adoption by the people, than can be done for it in the present crisis, by the few votes of the isolated Radical Abolitionists." And so Gerrit Smith is made to walk the plank overboard, and John C. Fremont put at the helm in his stead!

But, perform what antics you may, Mr. Douglass is not to be criticized, for none but 'malicious assailants' would think of doing so. So, he says in his paper of the 25th ultmo:—

"The frank announcement of our determination to support, with whatever ability we possess, FREDERICK and DAYTON, in the present canvas, has not escaped the notice of our vigilant and malicious assailants—the Garrisonians. They have not failed to discover, in this instance of our determination, additional evidence of our unfaithfulness to friends, and of a gross selfishness, which they have hitherto labored hard to make the world believe is the ruling motive of our conduct. For all this and more, we are certainly quite well for trial. Walking by our own judgment, obeying the dictates of our own conscience, enlightened by a patient

and careful study of the nature of the great crisis of the hour, we are not alarmed by any reproaches, however skilfully hurled, or however maliciously directed. We fear no attempt from any quarter to question our integrity, or to impeach our motives. To be called in question by that class of men may properly be taken as evidence of the soundness of our views, and the rectitude and wisdom of our course."

We shall be 'malicious' enough to let Mr. Douglass be his own judge, jury, advocate and executioner. His talk of having become 'enlightened by a patient and careful study' of the present crisis is ludicrous, seeing that he has changed his whole philosophy of action in the twinkling of an eye! Thus, in his paper of June 6, in an article on the National Convention of Radical Abolitionists at Syracuse, he says:—

"The utter insatiable and culpable imbecility of the narrow contracted conservatism of the Republican party, its retrogressive tendency, the folly of its leaders, as developed in their attempt to make a large party, instead of an honest one—these were calmly, candidly, and truthfully presented. It was very clearly demonstrated, that a small party in point of numbers, based upon principle, was more potent for permanent good, than a large party, composed of 'the masses,' as it is allowed up in policy. The majority of the Radical Abolitionists at Syracuse, he says:—

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SEPTEMBER 5.

THE LIBERATOR.

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RY PIETY.
commercement, has sing-
in the old maxims, "Our
specimens of opposing, public
principles and ideals; and
eats of a controversial na-
have the means before them
with which this prin-
the readers of *The Lu-*
documentary evidence, from
the state of mind and heart,
piety, is in the main favor-
able to the abolition of slav-
ery or chiefly of any connect,
in the thoroughness of their
of all the various denomina-
tions, is clearly distinguished
from the system taught by us.

erected upon this subject, and
the churches and charch-men-
seek and most thoroughly
and life which they recognize
favorable to the continuance
its abolition. Their piety,
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is, an additional cause and
popularity in question,
by the strength, piety, helps
from stealing, profane swearing,
it renders him more lively
older, if he lives at the South,
the North. This is clearly
done of ministers, churches,
Thus colored people in fidelity,
of treatment with whites at
the omnibuses and railroad
man of *caste* in the churches
one and Adams.

ention to the same character-
izing men's Christian Associa-

activity known as Young Men's

is grown into remarkable pre-

new years. These Societies are

principal cities in this coun-

try, Germany, Holland, Eng-

land, Scotland and Ireland,

on the continent of Europe,

that church which is also the

and its affairs are na-

ravity which seems to have

spirit of the Jesus, if not equal

sociations which give them this

is, that no one but a mem-

ber of some "Evangelical" church

privilege of the reading-room

will consent thus to be made

as the colored people can be

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will sit as inferiors in the re-

which call themselves "Evangel-

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ous representation in the govern-

ment—an "Evangelical" church being

Committee."

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and the ordeal of a church con-

annual course of public lectures

by the same audience.

ment of the objects and practical

ization, with a list of its effec-

rooms, to be forwarded to the par-

ish church in New England

articles containing similar state-

ments—Evangelical church being

Committee."

men taking up their resi-

der to direct their associa-

places of employment, asso-

under one department or another

combined in the Association.

object of their Association to

the cause of Christ.

the subject of slavery had in

the third annual Convention, had

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

NOT CARNAL BUT SPIRITUAL WEAPONS.

"And then must the people of Kansas take the sword to defend themselves." — GERRIT SMITH.

The good man takes no sword to fight,

Though blood-stained demons hiss and swear;

More strong his weapon—"tis the Right—

He knows it'll conquer every where.

I know his blood at times will tell,

While thinking of the burning town,

On Kansas' rich and virgin soil,

Where Barber sleeps, and murdered Brown.

Electric tingles every vein

At thoughts of Summer in his gore,

Struck foully by *s' m'r Ca'n*,

Martyr of Truth on Senate floor.

"Tis true such things are hard to see—

But then, the oppressor is the slave;

His soul ne'er felt true liberty,

And never can this side the grave.

Though others murder, steal and swear,

Is it for us to follow them?

For Christ shall we the dagger bare?

A death turn to evil stem?

Cleanse thine own soul, thou man of sin,

Ere then the ruffian hordes condemn;

Look! find the same base heart within,

Which thou canst plainly see in them.

It matters not what we can speak

Great swelling words for Truth and Right,

If we've the moral power so weak

As wish carnal swords to fight.

We're just as base as base can be,

If we can take the sword and slay;

Talk not to me of Liberty,

Ye who advise the deadly fray!

The moral part of man ne'er kill:

Then plain that those who this forget,

Whoe'er they are, are ruffians still.

Richfield, N. Y.

DANIEL HITCHINGS.

The following lines were written in view of the late threatening aspect of affairs between Rogaland and the United States:

A VOICE FOR PEACE.

Patient!—oh! proud and high-spirited nations,

England, America—bear or forbear;

Patient!—if both of us will but have patience,

All may be well by a trice of care:

Only, instead of hot words with each other,

Hear without striking, and speak without guile,

And, as to war between brother and brother,

Count up the cost of it—is it worth it?

There should, indeed, be invincible causes,

More than a matter of pique or of pride,

More than some questions and quibbles of clauses,

Partisan squires, and whatever beside;

There should be wrongs, and much long-enduring,

Mutual sins in a black double file,

There should be evils past bearing or curing,

Ere such a war could be ever worth while.

What! shall a blunder or two and a bluster,

Got up by governments for their own ends,

Or the fierce pranks of some shrewd filibuster,

Turn into enemies kinsmen and friends?

Both of us may be ambitious and jealous,

Some even here in this tight little isle;

Much such as you are intractable fellows—

But to be foes would be hardly worth while.

Freedom's own children each other destroying,

Raving in folly, and raging in sin!

Think how the desots of Europe, enjoying

Such a vile massacre, gladly would grin!

Think of the blood to be pour'd out like water,

Blood to disgrace us as well as desile,

Think of the havoc and rapine and slaughter

All in one family—is it worth while?

Ruin without mitigation or measure,

Ravaging all that is good in the world,

Myriads of lives and millions of treasure

Down to perdition remorselessly hur'd;

Liberty scandalized, progress retarded,

Commerce by wholesale on Bankruptcy's file,

Countries laid desolate, cities banded,

All because pride says, a war is worth while!

Oh! that a spirit of better confiding,

More than diplomacy's craft comprehend,

Were the good rule of humanity guiding

Governments how to keep good gods friend!

Oh! that no slanderous evil suspicions,

No bitter paragraphs brimming with bile,

Made us all utterly bad politicians,

Dreaming that such a war could be worth while!

All that is wicked on history's blazon,

Would be but innocence guaged with our crime;

Guilt, such as wondering demons might gaze on,

Wide as the world, and unending with time;

For our carnage fraternal, terrorific, gigantic,

Broadly would crimson, for mile upon mile,

Both the world's highways, Pacific, Atlantic,

Ay, and both hemispheres—is it worth while?

Neither of us (we are both Anglo-Saxon)

Ever give up, or ever give in;

Victory neither have over torn'd backs on,

Always we perish, or always we win.

Russians and Prussians, and other like tissue,

Fight with a courage we wouldn't revile,

But for us two there is only one issue,

Must we be conquerors?—is it worth while?

No! we are Giants, but sons of one Mother;

Let not the piggies rejoice in our strife;

Let us give, as brother with brother,

Aye, and help on one another in life;

We can do good by wholesale together,

Winning man's welfare and Heaven's own smile;

We can do evil—the scale is a feather—

Which is worth while, brother, which is worth while?

London.

MARTIN F. TUPPER.

THE LADY'S YES.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

"Yes! I answered you last night;

"No!" this morning, sir, I say!

Colors seen by candle light

Will not look the same by day.

When the tabors play'd their best,

Lamps above, and laughs below—

"Love me" sounded like a jest,

Fit for Yes, or fit for No!

Call me false, or call me free—

Vow, whatever light may shine,

No man on thy face shall see

Any grief for change on mine.

Yet the sin is on us both—

Time to dance is not too—

Wear light fistic froth—

Scorn of me recoil on you!

Learn to win a lady's faith

Nobly as the thing is high;

Bravely, as for life and death—

With a loyal gravity.

Lead her from the festive boards,

Point her to the starry skies,

Guard her by your truthful words,

Purse from courtship's flatteries.

By your truth she shall be true—

Ever true, as wives of yours—

And her Yes, once said to you,

Shall be yes forevermore.

THE LIBERATOR.

AN INQUIRY.

FREMONT, Ind., Aug. 11, 1856.

DEAR GARRISON:

In THE LIBERATOR of the 1st inst., you make a statement, in your "Remarks" in answer to B., in the 6th division, in these words:—"Indeed, properly speaking, there is but one government, and that not human, but divine; there is but one law, and that 'the higher law'; there is but one ruler, and he is God." And again, under "S.", you say:—"Our theory is, that what is properly called government is either a chain of iron or a rope of sand,—either despotic or licentious, or both,—and hence most ultimately perish; that men are to be guided, not by brute force or penal law, but by the spirit of love, justice, mercy, and good will to the whole human race." And again, "At the same time, we are far from discarding these arrangements and regulations of society which involve no violation of the principles we have laid down, and which, in the nature of things, are necessary to the welfare and happiness of every community."

Affirming as we do that slavery is an outlaw, we deny that there can be a law made to establish, defend or protect it, any more than there can be to protect murder, robbery, theft, or any other crime. For law we say, total and unconditional prohibition; for men we say, freedom through all the land, to all its inhabitants. Then, with liberty goes the right of soil to make every one an inalienable home. No man has liberty to give. It is the inspiration of the soul, and each must assume it.

These resolutions we sent to the *Freeman*, and they were rejected for their radicalism:—

Whereas, it is conceded that liberty is an inalienable right; therefore,

Resolved, That slavery is piracy, and that slaveholders are practical pirates.

Resolved, That the present Administration, condoning as it does to strike hands with slaveholders, has shown itself, in the light of truth, to be more contemptible than the despots of Europe, and should be denounced as a traitor to freedom, and dangerous to the safety of the Republic.

Resolved, That every slave in the United States has a natural and inalienable right to liberty now; and it is the duty of every American citizen to proclaim freedom through all the land, to all its inhabitants.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, when explained by the language of Democracy, is not a slaveholding instrument, and should never be used for such a villainous purpose.

Resolved, That the time has come for action, and that we will never lay down our armor until the last slave on the American soil shall lift up his hands to God and say, "I, too, am free."

B. W. DYER.

A UNION WITHOUT A COMPROMISE.

DEAR LIBERATOR:

We have had two demonstrations in this town—one for a few Democrats, and the other by a crowd of Fremontites. The national flag, with the inscription, "The Constitution, the Union, and the Democratic party, one and inseparable," describes one, and the national flag, with "Liberty and the Union, Free Speech, Free Territory, Fremont and Dayton," represents the other.

(1) Our friend misquotes us. We said, "what is popularly [not properly] called government," &c. We cannot express our views with more clearness.—ED.

TO FRANCIS BARRY.

FARMINGTON, Mich. Aug. 25, 1856.

MY FRIEND:

In a note addressed to me by you in THE LIBERATOR of Aug. 22d, you say, alluding to a resolution discussed at a Convention held at Sheboygan Falls—

The author of this resolution is ignorant or maliciously guilty of an atrocious slander.

I wrote, presented and advocated that resolution. I know what I meant by it, and the words express exactly what I meant—no more, no less; viz., that Spiritualism rejects Free Love, as "entwined with abominable practices."

Both parties glorify the Union. Much as we prefer the Fremont to the Buchanan platform, we deem them both vitally defective. By the courtesy of the Fremont Club, I was invited to speak at their out-door and their in-door meeting. Having the outline United States map before us in the evening, we could see how the boasted land of liberty was darkened by slavery. I directed particular attention to the fact, that we are responsible for the thirty Representatives in Congress, who will continue there to darken public councils until the Constitution itself, which puts them there, is made appear as dark as Erebus.

W. HOPKINS.

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